

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
-----037079 241825Z /40
O 241800Z AUG 77
FM USDEL SECRETARY PEKING
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 SECTO 9029

NODIS CHEROKEE

WHITE HOUSE PASS TO THE PRESIDENT AND DR. BRZEZINSKI ONLY

DEPARTMENT FOR WARREN CHRISTOPHER ONLY

E. O. 11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS)
SUBJECT: AUG. 24 MEETINGS WITH CHINESE

1. THE DAY INCLUDED MORNING MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER HUANG HUA, AN AFTERNOON MEETING WITH TENG HSIAO PING, AND A DINNER WITH TENG. AT THE VERY END OF THE DAY, AS WE WERE LEAVING THE SUMMER PALACE, TENG HSIAO PING INFORMED ME THAT WE WOULD BE MEETING TOMORROW WITH CHAIRMAN HUA KUO FENG.

2. ALTHOUGH THERE WERE MANY OTHER IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF TODAY'S DISCUSSIONS, THE MOST IMPORTANT EXCHANGE CAME IN THE LATTER PART OF THIS AFTERNOON'S MEETING WITH TENG. IN THE MORNING HUANG HUA HAD DELIVERED A RATHER STANDARD STATMENT OF THEIR TAIWAN POSITION, BUT HE HAD BEGUN BY SAYING THAT HIS REMARKS WERE ONLY PRELIMINARY. TENG PICKED IT UP IN THE AFTERNOON WITH A DIFFERENT TACK. HE BEGAN BY REPEATING, IN HIS CONSIDERABLY MORE COLORFUL STYLE, A FAIRLY STANDARD CRITIQUE OF THE NEED FOR AMERICAN RESOLUTENESS AND VIGILANCE WORLDWIDE AGAINST THE SOVIETS.

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HE FEARED THAT WE WOULD NOT BE RESOLUTE, AND URGED US ON, WITHOUT OFFERING ANY SUGGESTION THAT CHINA MIGHT DO ANYTHING HERSELF. THE MOST INTERESTING (AND AMUSING) PART OF THIS DISCUSSION WAS HIS CONTINUAL RAISING OF PRM-10, FOR WHICH HE REQUESTED AN EXPLANATION. AT THE END OF THIS LONG EXCHANGE, IN WHICH I CONTINUED TO LAY OUT OUR VIEWS AND POLICIES, HE BACKED OFF HIS GENERAL CRITIQUE, STATING

THAT WE HAD MANY POINTS IN COMMON.

3. HE THEN SAID HE WISHED TO TURN TO BILATERAL ISSUES AND ASKED IF I HAD ANYTHING I WISHED TO ADD AS HE HAD CAREFULLY STUDIED WHAT HAD BEEN REPORTED TO HIM ABOUT MY DISCUSSION WITH HUANG HUA OUR VIEWS ON NORMALIZATION, WHICH MERIT CAREFUL STUDY. I SAID I BELIEVED THEY HELD THE KEY TO PROGRESS. I ADDED THAT OUR VIEWS WERE CONSISTENT WITH THE VIEWS WHICH THE PRC HAD TAKEN. I FURTHER SAID IT IS NOW OUR TASK TO FIND A WAY TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM THAT IS CONSISTENT WITH FIRM PRINCIPLES AND TAKES INTO ACCOUNT PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS. TENG BEGAN A CRITIQUE OF OUR NORMALIZATION PROPOSAL. IT WAS EVIDENT THAT HE HAD STUDIED IT CAREFULLY, AND MUCH OF THE TIME HE WAS READING FROM NOTES DURING THIS PART OF THE DISCUSSION. HE SAID THAT OUR PROPOSAL CONSTITUTED A RETREAT, NOT A FORWARD STEP, FROM THE POSITION OFFERED BY THE UNITED STATES IN 1975 IN TWO WAYS. HE RECALLED FIRST THAT FORD INTENDED TO RECOGNIZE PEKING AFTER HIS ELECTION ALONG THE LINES OF THE JAPANESE FORMULA, AND SECOND THAT KISSINGER HAD ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE US OWED CHINA A DEBT. AFTER A STRONG REAFFIRMATION OF THE CHINESE HISTORICAL RIGHT TO TAIWAN, HE REITERATED THAT THE AMERICANS OWED CHINA A DEBT, DEFINING IT AS A DEBT ACCUMULATED OVER DECADES OF AMERICA'S ROLE IN CHINA. BY STRESSING THE NOTION OF A DEBT, TENG INDICATED THAT THE NORMALIZATION PROCESS DID NOT INVOLVED RECIPROCAL
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MEASURES.

4. HE THEN BEGAN TO SOFTEN HIS LINE, AND IT BECAME APPARENT THAT IN THE FORM OF A LECTURE, HE WAS BEGINNING TO NEGOTIATE OVER OUR OFFER. HE SAID THAT TWO THINGS BOTHERED HIM ABOUT OUR POSITION: FIRST, THAT WE WERE ASKING CHINA TO VIOLATE ITS HISTORIC PRINCIPLE THAT TAIWAN WAS AN INTERNAL AFFAIR BY REQUIRING A STATEMENT OF PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT; AND SECOND, THAT WE WANTED A "FLAGLESS EMBASSY" IN TAIWAN, "IN ESSENCE A LIAISON OFFICE."

5. TENG THEN MADE A CAREFUL RESPONSE: CHINA COULD BE PATIENT, HE SAID, AND QUOTED A COMMENT MAO TSE-TUNG HAD MADE TO KISSINGER: "CHINA COULD WAIT TEN-TWENTY-OR EVEN A HUNDRED YEARS FOR TAIWAN." HE ALSO SAID: "WE ARE

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WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 SECTO 9029

NODIS CHEROKEE

WHITE HOUSE PASS TO THE PRESIDENT AND DR. BRZEZINSKI ONLY

DEPARTMENT FOR WARREN CHRISTOPHER ONLY

PREPARED TO SEEK PEACEFUL MEANS WITHOUT US PARTICIPATION
AND US INTERVENTION, BUT WE DO NOT EXCLUDE FORCEFUL
MEANS." HE SAID CHINA COULD BE PATIENT, AND DISCUSS THIS
IN A "MORE PATIENT AND LEISURELY STYLE," BUT CHINA'S
PATIENCE WAS NOT LIMITLESS. TENG SAID THAT HE
UNDERSTOOD THAT OUR PROPOSAL REFLECTED CAREFUL AND SERIOUS
CONSIDERATION, BUT SAID AGAIN THAT THE FORMULA RE-
PRESENTED A RETREAT, NOT A STEP FORWARD.

6. TENG SEVERAL TIMES EXPLAINED TO US THAT WE COULD
USE THE JAPANESE FORMULA--"THAT IS, YOU MAY MAINTAIN NON-
GOVERNMENTAL CONTACTS...WE CAN'T AGREE TO YOUR FORMULA,
BUT WE CAN CONTINUE FURTHER TALKS."

7. TENG EMPHASIZED THAT HE HAD BEEN VERY CANDID, BUT
WE HAD TOO, WHICH HE APPRECIATED. HE SAID THAT WE
SHOULD TALK FURTHER ABOUT THE MATTER AND, AS I HAD SUG-
GESTED TO THEM, I DID NOT HAVE TO RESPOND NOW. HE SAID
WE MIGHT WISH TO REFLECT ON WHAT HE SAID AND DISCUSS HIS
COMMENTS WITH PRESIDENT CARTER.

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8. I RESPONDED BRIEFLY, SAYING THAT I HAD FOUND HIS
DISCUSSION USEFUL AND HELPFUL. I SAID HE WAS CORRECT
IN NOTING THAT THE STARTING POINT WAS THE SHANGHAI
COMMUNIQUE AND THAT IS WHERE WE HAD STARTED IN ACKNOWLEDG-
ING THAT THERE IS BUT ONE CHINA AND THAT TAIWAN IS A PART

OF CHINA. I MADE THE POINT THAT OUR POSITION WAS NOT INCONSISTENT WITH THE THREE PRINCIPLES OF THE PRC, AND, HAVING HEARD HIS EXPOSITION, I NOW UNDERSTOOD MORE CLEARLY WHERE THE POINTS OF DIFFERENCE LAY. I SAID I WOULD STUDY HIS COMMENTS IN DEPTH AND DISCUSS THEM WITH YOU, AND THAT BOTH OF US SHOULD REFLECT ON WHAT THE OTHER HAD SAID. I SAID THAT WE SHOULD CONTINUE OUR DISCUSSION AND ADDED THAT PERHAPS WE COULD DISCUSS THIS DURING THE UNGA IN NEW YORK. I TOO APPRECIATED HIS CANDOR, AS CANDOR WAS REQUIRED IN THE DISCUSSION OF SUCH SERIOUS MATTERS.

9. THE ABOVE REPRESENTS A SUMMARY OF A COMPLEX AND SKILLFUL PRESENTATION BY TENG. I WILL RESERVE FINAL ANALYSIS OF IT FOR MY RETURN. BUT IT IS CLEAR THAT THE MOOD SURROUNDING THE VISIT CHANGED SHARPLY AFTER THIS MEETING. THE DINNER WAS HELD IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF GENUINE CORDIALITY WITH SHORT, BUT GOOD TOASTS. I BELIEVE THAT WHAT WE SAW TODAY WAS THE BEGINNING OF A LONG AND UNDOUBTEDLY DIFFICULT ROAD, BUT ON ON WHICH WE ARE NOW CLEARLY LAUNCHED.

10. I WILL ALSO MEET BRIEFLY WITH HUANG HUA TOMORROW MORNING, AND I PLAN TO HAVE A SHORT PRESS CONFERENCE TOMORROW NIGHT. WE ARE ALSO GOING TO SUGGEST A BRIEF, POSITIVE JOINT COMMUNIQUE.

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